

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01  
SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 SSM-03 /102 W  
-----055959 181144Z /11

R 181010Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2629  
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USLO PEKING  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
USMISSION USUN NY  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 5100

E. O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PEPR IS RO  
SUBJ: DAYAN VISIT TO ROMANIA

REF.: (A) BUCHAREST 2288, (B) BUCHAREST 2331

1. SUMMARY: MFA CONFIRMED REPORTS THAT ALTHOUGH NEITHER  
SIDE MADE INROADS INTO THE OTHER'S POSITIONS, ISRAEL  
CAME AWAY SATISFIED WITH THE FRIENDLY AND CANDID ATMOS-  
PHERE OF THE TALKS. GOI ACCOMPLISHED ITS BASIC OBJECTIVE  
OF EXCHANGING VIEWS WHICH SERVED THE ANCILLARY PURPOSE  
OF PROMOTING THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. DAYAN WAS  
FLATTERED BY UNEXPECTED LENGTH OF TIME CEAUSESCU SPENT  
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WITH HIM, AND WAS IMPRESSED BY RANGE OF CEAUSESCU'S FOREIGN  
POLICY GRASP. HE RETURNED TO ISRAEL MUCH MORE INTRIGUED  
BY POSSIBILITIES IN ISRAELI-ROMANIAN RELATIONSHIP THAN  
HE HAD EXPECTED TO BE, THOUGH UNDER NO ILLUSIONS THAT  
HE HAD CHANGED CEAUSESCU'S MIND ON THE PLO OR OTHER ISSUES.  
END SUMMARY

2. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH DAYAN, WITH THE DCM AT THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY, NICOLAE IRINOIU, AND WITH THE DIRECTOR OF THE MFA'S EASTERN EUROPE DIVISION, YOSEF GOVRIN, WE HAVE CONFIRMED REPORTS IN REFTELS THAT NEITHER SIDE EFFECTED CHANGES IN THE POSITIONS OF THE OTHER DESPITE THE CORDIALITY OF THE MEETINGS. THIS WAS DAYAN'S FIRST VISIT TO ANY EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRY. HE WAS STRONGLY AFFECTED BY THE NATURE OF THE DICTATORIAL REGIME, BY THE VERY ABJECT POVERTY OF MUCH OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY, AND WITH THE FORCE AND PERSONALITY OF CEAUSESCU HIMSELF. DAYAN THINKS HE GAVE A GOOD ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF AND ISRAEL'S VIEWS IN THE TALKS THOUGH HE HAS NO ILLUSIONS THAT HE CHANGED CEAUSESCU'S MIND ON THE PLO QUESTION; HE CLAIMED THAT CEAUSESCU DROPPED THE SUBJECT WHEN HE HEARD DAYAN'S VIGOROUS REBUTTAL.

3. MEDIA FOCUS WAS BASED ON DAYAN'S PRESS CONFERENCE IN BUCHAREST, ON ATMOSPHERICS, AND ON THE EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW ON APRIL 11 BETWEEN CEAUSESCU AND DAVID LANDAU OF THE JERUSALEM POST. PRESS REPORTS WERE RATHER TENDENTIOUS. THE TONE OF THE VISIT WAS LAUDED, BUT REPORTS ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE MEETINGS WERE SLANTED TO EMPHASIZE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE WELL-KNOWN POSITIONS WHICH EACH SIDE PRESENTED. AN EXAMPLE IS THAT DAYAN IS CREDITED WITH "TURNING DOWN ANY NOTION THAT HE OR ANY OTHER ISRAELI LEADER MEET WITH ARAFAT, WHOM THE ROMANIAN PRESIDENT CONFIDENTIAL

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DESCRIBED AS 'A MODERATE MAN.'" THE ISRAELI PUBLIC WAS GIVEN THE IMPRESSION THAT THE TALK WAS BLUNT ON CERTAIN ISSUES (SUCH AS SYRIA) AND THAT CEAUSESCU HAD PRESSURED ISRAEL ON THE PLO. GOVRIN HAD BEEN PARTICULARLY ANGERED BY THE LATTER REPORTS; HE CLAIMED THAT THE ROMANIANS HAD CAREFULLY NOT INSISTED ON ANYTHING.

4. ANOTHER ITEM OF PRESS INTEREST WAS THE POSSIBILITY THAT ROMANIA COULD BRING CHINA AND ISRAEL CLOSER TOGETHER: "THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID HE HAD BEEN INTERESTED TO HEAR CEAUSESCU'S OBSERVATION THAT THE CHINESE--UNLIKE THE SOVIETS-- WERE IN EFFECT SUPPORTING THE SADAT INITIATIVE." IDF RADIO QUOTED DAYAN AS SAYING THAT CEAUSESCU HAD MENTIONED THE POSSIBILITY OF ADDITIONAL CONTACTS WITH THE CHINESE. BOTH THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY AND THE MFA SAID THAT THESE REPORTS WERE OVERBLOWN. REF A INDICATES THAT THEY WERE PROBABLY MISINTERPRETED -- THAT CEAUSESCU WAS THINKING MORE IN TERMS OF PARALLEL "INTERESTED PARTY" MEETINGS WITH CHINA INCLUDED.

5. THE MFA CLAIMED NO SPECIAL ITEMS HAD BEEN ON THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TEL AVIV 5100

AGENDA AND THAT NEITHER SIDE HAD HAD ANY HOPES FOR CHANGES  
IN THE POSITIONS OF THE OTHER. THE ISRAELIS CLAIM THAT  
DAYAN MADE THE VISIT FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS: TO MAIN-  
TAIN FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND FULFILL AN OUTSTANDING INVI-  
TATION MADE BY FORMER ROMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER  
MECOVESCU; TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE ON THE MIDDLE EAST  
AND EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH A NATION HAVING BROAD INFLUENCE WITH A  
VARIETY OF NATIONS; AND TO DEMONSTRATE ISRAEL'S CONTINUED  
SUPPORT FOR CEAUSESCU AND THE GOR'S INDEPENDENT POLITICAL  
OUTLOOK.

6. GOVRIN WAS CAREFUL TO EMPHASIZE THAT ISRAEL HAD NOT  
GONE TO SEE CEAUSESCU THE MEDIATOR--THAT HE HAD NEVER REP-  
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RESENTED HIMSELF AS SUCH AND THAT ISRAEL DID NOT SEE HIM IN THIS CAPACITY. UNDERPLAYING THE IDEA THAT CEAUSESCU IS A GO-BETWEEN, GOVRIN CLAIMED THE GOI HAS MANY PRACTICAL REASONS FOR MAINTAINING GOOD RELATIONS AND IS THEREFORE WILLING TO CONTINUE A DIALOGUE WITH ROMANIA OUT OF CONCERN FOR THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, WHICH IS MORE IMPORTANT TO JERUSALEM THAN ANY ROLE CEAUSESCU IS CREDITED WITH.

7. GOVRIN ACCOMPANIED BEGIN ON HIS VISIT TO ROMANIA LAST AUGUST AND NOTICED A MORE LIBERAL ATMOSPHERE ON THIS VISIT. THIS WAS EVIDENCED BY THE FACT THAT DAYAN WAS ALLOWED A PRESS BRIEFING (PUBLISHED IN ROMANIA), THE INTEREST SHOWN BY THE GOI IN JEWISH INSTITUTIONS, AND THE FRIENDLINESS OF THE TALKS THEMSELVES. HE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THE ROMANIANS LIKED DAYAN AS A PERSONALITY. GOVRIN ADMITTED THAT THE ABOVE INDICATORS MAY NOT BE DIRECTED AT ISRAEL, BUT FELT NONETHELESS THEY ACCURATELY EXPRESS ROMANIA'S POLITICAL VIEWS WHICH REFLECT AND HAVE BEARING ON THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP.

8. GOVRIN WAS STRUCK BY WHAT HE CALLED THE INCREASED CULT OF PERSONALITY AROUND CEAUSESCU, MAKING IT MORE IMPORTANT FOR THE ROMANIAN LEADER TO SUCCEED AS A WORLD ACTOR. THE IMPLICATION TO HIM WAS THAT ISRAEL WAS EXPECTED TO CONTRIBUTE TO CEAUSESCU'S POPULARITY AND THUS HELP IN ASSURING THAT ROMANIA MAINTAINS ITS PRESENT POLICY.

9. COMMENT: ISRAEL IS PROBABLY INDEED TACTICALLY SUPPORTING AND CONTRIBUTING TO CEAUSESCU'S ROLE. WE HAVE SEEN OTHER EXAMPLES OF THE BEGIN GOVERNMENT USING OFFICIAL VISITS OR, AS WITH THE FRENCH, THE LACK OF A VISIT TO TRY TO REINFORCE AND ENCOURAGE OR TO DISCOURAGE THE POLICIES OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS. ISRAEL IS CONVINCED OF THE VALUE OF

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CEAUSESCU'S EFFORTS FOR ME PEACE, OTHERWISE THEY WOULD NOT PROMOTE HIS WORLD ROLE AT THE EXPENSE OF ENDANGERING THEIR OWN MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATING POSITIONS.

10. IT OCCURS TO US THAT ANOTHER REASON FOR THE VISIT AT THIS TIME COULD BE TO SHOW THE US THAT ISRAEL HAS OTHER OPTIONS AVAILABLE TO PROMOTE DIRECT CONTACTS WITH ARABS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE VISIT ALSO SERVED TO IMPROVE THE TARNISHED STATURE OF THE BEGIN GOVERNMENT IN THE WAKE OF THE WASHINGTON VISIT. AS PART OF A BROADER CAMPAIGN TO GAIN WORLD SUPPORT, IT WAS PROBABLY CONSIDERED WISE FOR ISRAEL TO PRESENT ITS BRIEF TO A WELL RECOGNIZED GO-BETWEEN WITH A VARIETY OF CONTACTS.

11. ALTHOUGH GOVRIN DID NOT WISH TO ELABORATE ON THAT PORTION OF THE TALKS RELATING TO THE EMIGRATION ISSUE, WE KNOW THERE WAS NO BREAKTHROUGH. GOI RETICENCE IN DISCUSSING THE PROBLEM LEADS US TO SPECULATE AS TO HOW HARD DAYAN MAY HAVE PUSHED.

12. THE POSSIBILITY OF CONTACTS WITH CHINA, ALTHOUGH MIS-INTERPRETED, WAS A SUBJECT OF INTEREST TO THE PRESS, WHICH IN RECENT MONTHS HAS SPECULATED ON POSSIBLE RELATIONS WITH SEVERAL NATIONS IN AFRICA AND ASIA. REPORTS THAT HSU IS MODERATING ARE MET WITH SKEPTICISM IN JERUSALEM, WHICH FEARS THE PRC IS USING THIS MEANS TO GET AT THE SOVIETS, AND THAT CEAUSESCU IS USING THIS IDEA TO ENHANCE HIS POSITION FOR HIS FORTHCOMING VISIT TO PEKING. LEWIS

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PEPR, OVIP, IS, RO, (DAYAN, MOSHE)  
**To:** STATE  
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